

La nuova emigrazione italiana

Cause, mete e figure sociali

a cura di Iside Gjergji

New Migration from Italy to Germany Chain Migration or Circular Migration?

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Abstract The discussion on new migration from Italy to Germany from the German point of view is focused on the skills shortage of the labour market which is moderated by a large number of migrants from EU-countries, especially a growing number of workers from GIPS (Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain). From Italy's point of view, the prior focus lies on the so-called Brain Drain ('fuga dei cervelli'). Most of the Italian labour migrants in Germany recruited between 1955 and 1973 circulated or returned (90% return rate). Is the new migration from Italy to Germany similar to that of the second half of the 20th century, implying a process of chain migration and circular migration? The new migration flow from Italy to Germany is analysed in official statistics, with special attention to gender and age of migrants. Migration and integration policy together with results of survey studies on Italian migrants complete the description of the situation. Case studies show the example of migration to Bavarian boom towns.

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1 Introduction

The discussion on new migration from Italy to Germany, from the German point of view, is focused on the skills shortage on the labour market. A projection of the labour force predicts a further decline and the consequences can already be seen on the labour market. Migration helps towards the moderation of the consequences of the demographic change, the shrinking and ageing population (Fuchs, Söhnlein 2013, p. 11). Even when one cannot speak of «a gap in skilled labour», «a mismatch may come about on the labour market in respect to certain qualifications, occupations or regions and this may mean that vacant jobs cannot be filled

in many labour market segments» (Brücker et al. 2013). In comparison to most other countries in the European Union, the German labour market relatively quickly recovered from the Global financial crisis (2007-2008) and is suffering less from the Eurozone crisis (2010). The growing number of immigrants in the last years can be attributed to the crisis in two ways. First, migrants from Eastern European countries switch to Germany: «Altogether, our findings suggest that the European crisis has a substantial impact on the scale of migration flows, although the diversion of migration flows away from the main destinations of migrants in Europe before the crisis such as the Southern European countries and Ireland toward countries such as Germany dominate the increasing emigration of natives from the crisis countries» (Bertoli, Brücker, Fernández-Huertas Moraga 2013). The number of migrants from Poland as well as from Romania has risen strongly (Bundesministerium des Innern, Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2014, p. 35). Polish migrants switched from England and Ireland to Germany, and Romanians used to prefer other countries of destination like Italy or Spain. Indirectly the change in the labour market of these countries influenced the migration from Middle East Europe and East Europe to Germany.

However, the second and direct impact of the crisis is the growing number of migrants from Italy and other countries of South Europe. In the last years, the skills shortage in Germany was moderated by a growing number of employees from GIPS (see Hartmann, Reimer 2014; see Graph. 3).

From the German point of view, one can ask of similarities between the current situation and the causing «guest worker» recruitment treaty. In 1955 the recruitment of labour migrants from Southern Europe was started by the German-Italian treaty (Haug 2000, p. 181). The Italian pioneers were followed by migrants recruited after bilateral treaties with Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, former Yugoslavia, Tunisia and Morocco. Since then millions of Italian migrants came to Germany. The mostly male workers had a relatively low qualification level. The treaty implied a rotating principle in general, so circulation and return migration was intended by the receiving country as well as by the migrants themselves. And in large part, the Italian migrants returned to Italy.

Nowadays, from the point of view of Italy the prior focus lies on the so-called 'brain drain' (*fuga dei cervelli*). The expression refers to educated parts of population leaving the country. The press discusses cases of emigrated students, graduates and researchers (see Glaser 2008; Schönau 2011; «Italy's brain drain» 2011). Migration studies confirm the trend: «Italy exports 30,000 researchers per year and imports only 3,000» (Constant, D'Agosto 2010, p. 247).

A survey shows that a main push factor for Italian researchers is the dissatisfaction with the economic and social situation of the country (Monteleone, Torrisi 2012). The problem of emigration and the negative con-

sequences for the labour force and economic development is well known from the Mezzogiorno, but now also observable in the central and northern Italian regions: «38% of the brainy Italians are in other EU countries, 37% in the USA and 25% in the UK» (Constant, D'Agosto 2010, p. 247).

These discussions place new questions for research: how many migrants from Italy came to Germany in the last years? How is their qualification level? Will they stay in Germany? The contribution tries to give insights to these questions based on data and help in interpreting the new migration process.

1.1 Some Aspects of Migration Theory

From a theoretical point of view, migration is a sequential process and chain migration is a typical development. Is the new migration from Italy to Germany similar to the second half of the 20th century, that means, a process of chain migration and circular migration?

Some researchers of international migration have begun to formulate a new approach to the sociology of migration on the basis of networks (Boyd 1989; Massey et al. 1987; Faist 1997). The meso-level of households, kinship networks and social networks links the social structure to the individual decision maker (Haug 2000). A migration network can be defined by a composite of interpersonal relations in which migrants interact with their family or friends. Social networks provide a foundation for the dissemination of information as well as for patronage or assistance.

Interactions among social networks make migration easier by reducing the costs and risks of moving. The social network paves the way for establishing transnational migration networks (Faist 1997; Pries 2004). Given the multiplier effect of social networks, they may result in a migration chain. Informal networks help migrants to finance their travel, to find a job or even accommodation. Personal relations which connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants with each other in the places of origin and destination increase the probability of international labour migration in connection with circular migration and chain migration processes (Haug 2000). As social networks are extended and strengthened by each additional migrant, potential migrants are able to benefit from the social networks and ethnic communities already established in the country of destination.

Migration research has established that social networks are commonly an important determinant of migration plans and the choice of destination (see an overview in Haug 2000 or Haug 2008). Being embedded in social networks thus has a significant influence on migration decisions. The social and cultural context influences, whether direct or indirect, economic factors such as life cycle or education which positively affect migration decisions (Hugo 1981, p. 188).

1.2 New Migration from Italy to Germany: Chain Migration or Circular Migration?

An explanation of migration processes in the light of rational choice theory and social capital has to address the empirical findings of research on chain migration. Chain migration, for example from Italy to the United States, can be described as a process involving three stages: (1) pioneer migration or migration of «padroni», (2) labour migration, and (3) family migration (MacDonald, MacDonald 1964). Things are always much more difficult for migrant pioneers. They have to decide where to go and they have to find work quickly. Pioneer migrants are confronted with exceptionally high costs and risks because migration networks, that would help to establish and maintain social ties and could thus provide useful resources, do not yet exist. Migration decisions take place only when the subjectively expected net utility of migration exceeds the expected net utility of staying at the place of origin. The migration decision-making of individual actors («micro-level») is embedded in social contexts («meso-level») and is based on underlying macro-structural conditions (for an elaboration of the macro-micro-meso model see Haug 2000; Haug 2008; Haug 2012).

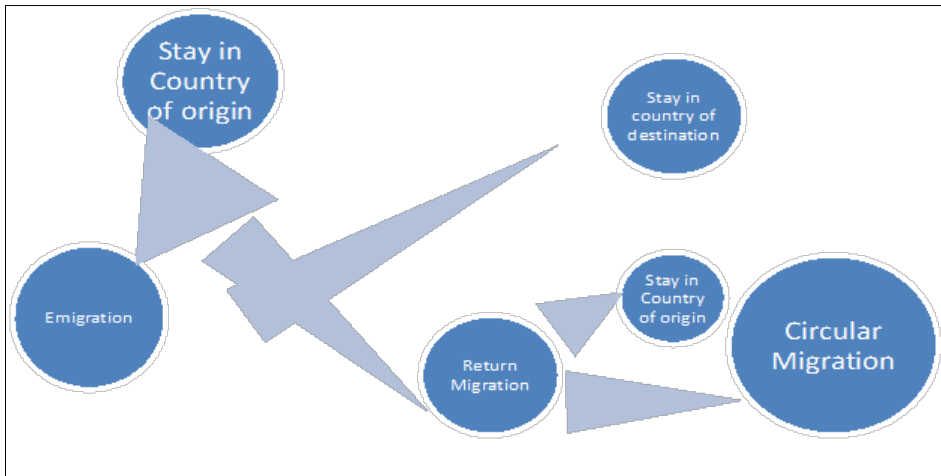
Once these pioneers have dealt with the risks of migration, potential migrants confront lower hurdles: the transfer of social capital and other kinds of capital is now easier. The information hypothesis and the facilitating hypothesis describe the decision basis for prospective migrants in the context of chain migration processes. Pioneer migrants and their successors provide information on opportunities, they provide support in the areas of travel, transportation, living, and work (Hugo 1981, p. 202). Some of the already established immigrants encourage the migration of further male workers from home; they provide work and maintain a dependency on the part of the new migrants, according to the so-called 'padroni system'. A series of flows of migrant workers then follows. These initially come without their families, at least until they decide to stay for a longer period. Family reunification is the third stage of this process, with the families also migrating to the new place of destination (Baily 1982). Location-specific social capital at the place of destination plays a decisive role in the migration decision of potential migrants. The attractiveness of places of residence is determined by the location-specific social capital, that is, by social affiliation or relations. The critical point for the emergence of a migration chain is the decision to return or the migration of the family for the purpose of permanent settlement. All migrants who originally come for a limited period of work have to make this decision. The process of chain migration hinges on whether large numbers of migrants return to their country of origin or arrange for their family and kin to settle in the receiving country.

Chain migration processes can be modelled as diffusion processes which typically follow an s-shaped curve (Haug 2000, p. 152). The infection rate

increases slowly, then more strongly, before declining first at a fast rate then more slowly, until it drops to almost zero and the process comes to a halt. The infection rate is represented by a bell-curve. In the course of time, the cumulative migrant population at the country of destination corresponds to an s-shaped curve, and the respective number of immigrants follows a bell-curve. With each new emigrant, the social capital at the place of destination increases for the potential successors. In the course of the migration process, the migration risk thus diminishes. The social capital declines at the place of origin, resulting in an attendant drop in the potential loss of social capital at the place of origin. Each emigrant increases the location-specific social capital at the place of destination and this accumulation of location-specific social capital at the place of destination reduces the opportunity costs of migration for successors. Additionally, staying at the place of destination becomes more attractive as a result of the rising social capital in kinship networks and ethnic community. The structure of social networks determines the channels of distribution and the infection speed of the behaviour of the migration within the chain migration process. The central characteristic of chain migration is the dislocation of social contexts. This process continues along the chains of migration, and develops into a self-perpetuating dynamic. Social relations from the society of origin are continued in the immigrant society and neighbourly relations are transplanted. The cumulative migration process is maintained through snowball effects resulting from networks, relatively independently of objective economic factors (Massey 1990). Networks engender cumulative causation because every single migrant reduces the costs for potential migrants; this leads to more migration and new networks linking different individuals in the country of origin, in turn giving rise to renewed migration and new networks, and so on. In this way, migration maintains itself on the basis of social networks.

A transnational migration process has several stages, in which the decision to migrate or to return has to be taken (see Graph. 1). Circular migration is a result of these decision sequences, it is caused mainly by social networks in the country of origin and destination.

Graphic 1. To Stay or to Return: circular migration



The following hypothesis show the effect of social networks on migration (see Hugo 2081; Haug 2000; Haug 2008; Haug 2012).

Affinity hypothesis: the existence of relatives and friends at the place of residence reduces the tendency to migrate. Newest evidence based on a survey in Italy shows strong family ties represent the element keeping high qualified manpower at home in Italy (Monteleone, Torrisi 2012).

Information hypothesis: when relatives and friends are already living in different places, the propensity to migrate increases. Social networks at the place of destination are a pull factor.

Facilitating hypothesis: relatives and friends promote and channel migration to their own place of residence by facilitating adjustment to the new location (e.g. job search, material support, encouragement, provision of new social ties). Social networks at the place of destination are a pull factor.

Conflict hypothesis: intra-familial conflicts within the community also cause migration. Social networks at the place of residence can serve as a push factor.

Encouraging hypothesis: families may encourage members of their family to migrate for work (e.g. as a strategy to secure the household income). Social networks at the place of residence are a push factor.

2 Migration from Italy to Germany

2.1 A Short History of Migration from Italy to Germany

The immigration and return migration of Italians in Germany is intensified since 1955 when the recruitment of Italian workers began. This bilateral treaty was caused by economic activity in full swing. The so-called «guest worker» recruitment treaty with Italy (1955) was followed by treaties with Spain and Greece (1960), with Turkey (1961), with Morocco (1963), with Portugal (1964), with Tunisia (1965) and with former Yugoslavia (1968).¹ The German federal agency for labour recruited the workers in agencies in the countries of origin. Mostly low qualified male workers were searched for. The labelling «guest worker» refers to the «rotation principle», that means, the stay was intended to be temporary (the next passage is in parts borrowed from Haug; Heins 2005b; for a historical view see also Herbert 1986; Kammerer 1976).

The German Commission, created by virtue of the bilateral agreement, was not the only way for Italians to reach the German labour market; during the early years of booming Italian immigration, the Commission never handled more than 2/3 of all Italian requests: 66.1 per cent in 1960, 64.6 per cent in 1961 and 46.5 per cent in 1962 (Steinert 1995, p. 205). At an early stage, the rotation of the labour migrants was the rule and, in general, only temporary labour contracts, often in the agricultural sector, were given. However, instead of return migration, a contract prolongation was made possible. The rotation of Italian migrants was during a first period the strategy adopted in official policy and by employers, which used this labour force to balance seasonal and cyclical economic fluctuations. The negative net migration in 1967 is testimony of this policy. In many cases this policy was readily accepted by the Italian workers, leading to impressive numbers of turn-over (see Oswald 2002a, 2002b for the general argument and on the special case of the Volkswagen Werk). Even when in the 1960s the practice of rotation of the Italian labour force was officially abandoned, the Italian-German migration flows continued to be characterised by high fluctuations.

In 1961 the provisions of the *Rome Treaty* regarding the rights of freedom of movement for the nationals of the European Common Market became effective and Italians were the only nationality of «guest workers» in Germany affected by these provisions. The hope for positive effects on the Italian-German migration did not materialise (Rieder 2004; Romero 1993) and fluctuation continued. A turning point for the immigration of foreign labour

¹ Additional treaties to recruit Asians for the health sector were negotiated in 1971 with South Korea and 1974 with the Philippines, and currently (2013) a treaty to hire migrants from the Philippines is operative. And the former GDR (German Democratic Republic) recruited temporary workers from Hungary, Poland, Algeria, Cuba, Mozambique and Vietnam.

in Germany was the recruitment stop (*Anwerbestop*) in 1973. Due to the freedom of movement for citizens of member states of the European Community and the right for family reunification, the migration process between Italy and Germany was not directly affected by this change in policy. However, the mid 1970s saw a reduction in migration movements between Italy and Germany and an important decline in immigration of Italians in Germany.

The Italian-German migration process took place in several waves and was strongly influenced by the economic situation and economic cycles in Germany and Italy (Haug 2000). Italian immigration started in Southern German centres and spread northwards. During this initial period Italian immigrants were employed in agriculture and manufacturing. During the high phase of recruiting the number of immigrants reached a peak of 270,000 Italian migrants in 1965. With the migration process producing a positive net migration of up to 95,000 per annum, the population of Italian origin in Germany increased considerably. During the downturn of the business cycle during the years 1967, 1975 and 1982, the number of the return migrants exceeded the immigrants. A positive net migration of up to 14,000 per year was observed between 1993 and 1997; since then, net migration is declining. In 2002, an inflow of 24,379 foreign immigrants from Italy and 33,271 return migrants were registered. The socio-demographic composition of the migration flows changed over the years. Whereas the first years brought in the first place labour migrants, the changes in the 1970s added a family component to these flows.

The Italian emigration to Germany has its specific areas of origin. Even if the German Commission in Italy was located in the first year in Milan and then moved to Verona, most Italian migrants came from Southern Italy (an office was established in Naples some years later). The majority of Italians migrating to Germany over the years came from the southern regions: Sicily, Sardinia, Apulia, Calabria and Campania, a fewer number came from north-eastern Italy. The areas of origin were often small rural towns and the emigration should be seen in the context of the modernisation process of the Italian society and economy, leading to important migration flows to the industrial triangle of Northern Italy and industrialised countries in Europe – with Germany as the privileged destination. Today, the most important areas of origin of the Italian emigrants are still in Southern Italy, but also towns like Milan, Rome, Bolzano, Turin and Florence, play an increasing role in the Italian-German migration process.

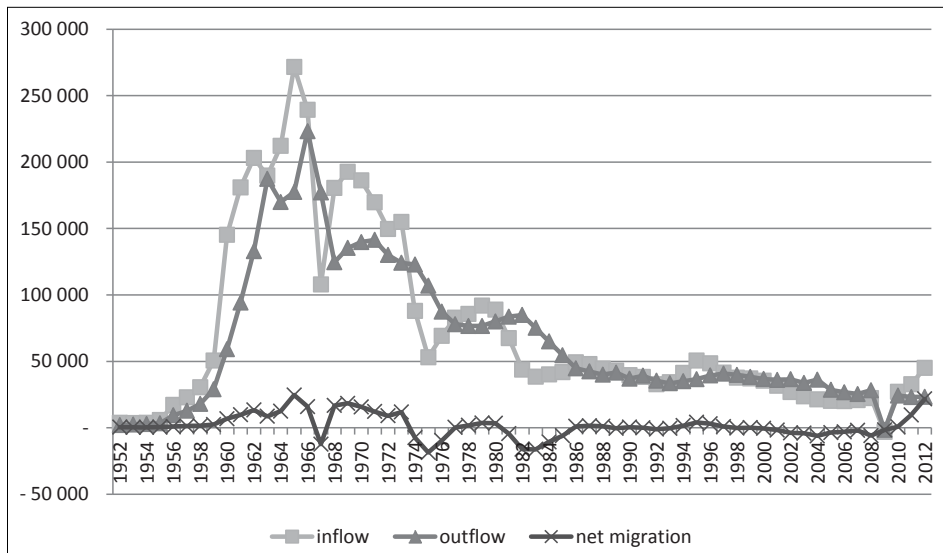
The migration process from Italy is characterised by a high migration volume, and a classical sequence of pioneers, labour workers and families. In the case of Italian migrants, as citizens of the European Union, the immigration process is not as much dependent on immigration laws like citizens of non-EU countries. The recruitment began in 1955 with the bilateral contracts of Italy and Germany, and did not end up in 1973 when the labour recruitment was stopped officially. Since then, the most important factor

for the increasing number of Italians in Germany was the family reunification. The transnational migration follows several stages, characterised by certain patterns of migration more than by legal aspects (stages Haug 2002, 2006, p. 47).

Graphic 2 shows the development of migration from Italy to Germany since the mid-20th century:

- recruitment of labour migrants and pioneer migrants (1955 to 1960)
- labour migration (1961 to 1966)
- family reunification (1968 to 1974) - recruitment stop 1973
- social networks (1975 to 1982)
- permanent settlement or return (1983 to 1992)
- transnational community (1993 to 1999)
- naturalisation (since 2000) - *ius soli*
- new migration since 2010

Graphic 2. Migration from Italy to Germany, 1952 – 2012



Source: Federal Statistical Office, 2014; analysis: Haug

The immigration process of the Italian citizens shows a nearly parallel return migration process. A typical characteristic of the Italian migration style is a high rate of circular migration and return migration (Haug 2001). The return migration rate was 90 per cent from 1955 to 2009 (Haug, Rühl 2008). Based on the data of 1952 to 2012 a return rate of 90 per cent can be calculated (data: Federal Statistical Office, 2014, analysis Haug). All in

all, a large proportion of the former migrants circulated and returned to Italy. Since 1989, the net migration between Italy and Germany was negative – rate of inflow to outflow of migrants: 1.04 (Haug, Rühl 2008); in the period 2009-2013, the net migration Italy and Germany was -3.000, but in 2013 the net migration was 32.000 (Sander 2014, p. 8).

The Italian community was always characterised by a high fluctuation between Italy and Germany, or more precisely, the community is formed simultaneously of highly mobile individuals/families and individuals/families who settled in Germany for extended periods or indefinitely. The frequent back and forth of many Italian migrants can be considered one of the impediments of a successful integration of many Italian families in Germany (Haug, Heins 2005b).

That means that only a small part of the Italian immigrants stay permanently in Germany. But nevertheless, the net migration is positive and the Italian community in Germany is vital (see Sala 2011). After 50 years of Italian-German migration history, several authors draw a balance (see the articles in the special issue of *Studi Emigrazione* (Guidotti, Haug 2005; Carchedi, Pugliese 2006).

2.2 Social Networks and Migration Decision of Italian Migrants in Germany

An analysis of biographical interviews collected in a field work on the one hand and of the German Socio-Economic Panel, a household panel data set collected each year since 1984 on the other hand, are used to demonstrate social network effects on emigration and return migration decisions. The role of social networks in the migration process is studied in retrospect by a panel analysis of sequential migration processes within households. In the case of Italian migrants, the migration was a long during process for the families. The average duration of the family reunification process in Italian families was 4.25 years, but 26 years at maximum (data: German Socio-Economic Panel from 1984 to 1997 [Haug 2000, p. 212]).

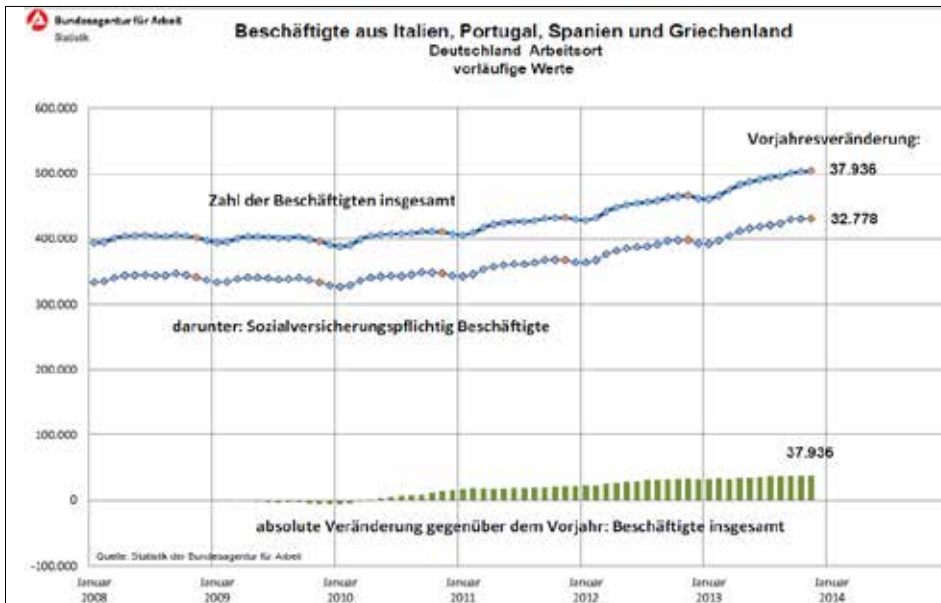
Analysis reveals a large household size to have a restraining effect on return migration. Persons living as a couple are most likely to return, whereas persons living in larger households have a lower return probability. Another finding is the positive effect of the number of household members who have returned to Italy before. When four members have returned to Italy in an earlier wave of the panel, 30.8 per cent of the remaining respondents of households return themselves. When three household members have previously returned, 12 per cent of the respondents return. This is interpreted as an indicator of the sequential migration decision mechanism within households (Haug 2000; Haug 2001).

2.3 Current Trends of Migration to Germany

After a period of negative net migration, the number of migrants to Germany is growing again since 2010. The typical pattern of migration in Germany is circular migration, thus the migration turnover is high. In 2012, more than one million immigrants moved to Germany (1,080,936 inflow). In the same time, 711,991 emigrants (outflow) were registered (data: Federal Statistical Office). The migration trend is characterised by an increasing net migration: +128,000 (2010), +279,330 (2011) and +387,149 (2012). The most important countries of origin are the new and old member states of the European Union (Bundesministerium des Innern, Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2014, p. 35). In 2013, the net migration of Polish-German migration was +72.000 (Sander 2014, p. 8).

In November 2013, half a million (504,000) employees from the so-called GIPS-states (Greece, Portugal, Italy and Spain) worked in Germany (Hartmann, Reimer 2014, p. 5; data: German Federal Agency of Labour). Compared to 2012, the number rose above the ordinary (see Graph. 3). To sum up, there was an increase of 38,000 employees within one year (8 per cent). The increase was higher in the case of Spanish workers (19 per cent).

Graphic 3. Employees from GIPS (Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain) in Germany, 2008-2013



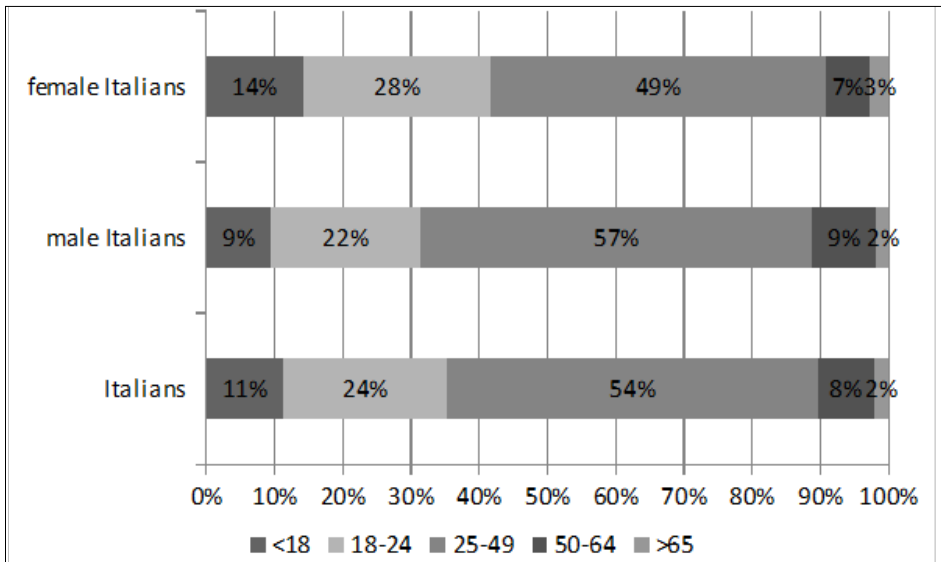
Source: Hartmann, Reimer 2014, p. 5

2.4 Latest Situation and Integration of Italian Migrants in Germany

In the last years, the flow of Italians to Germany is increasing again (see Graph. 2). In 2012, there were 36,896 immigrants (inflow) and a net migration of + 21,716. 39 per cent of the migrants in 2012 were female (data: Federal Statistical Office, 2014; analysis: Sonia Haug). Even when the complete data of the year 2013 is not available on March 2014, the migration between January and September 2013 indicates an increase: 44,878 immigrants and a net migration of +24,353. Italy is the most important country of origin in South Europe. All in all, the net migration in 2013 summed up to +32.000 (Sander 2014, p. 8).

An analysis by age shows that the Italian immigrants of the year 2012 are relatively young: 11 per cent are younger than 18 and 24 per cent are between 18 and 24 (Data: Federal Statistical Office, 2014; analysis: Haug). The female migrants are even younger: 42 per cent of the female migrants are younger than 25, compared to 31 per cent of the male migrants (see Graph. 4).

Graphic 4. Italian immigrants in Germany 2012 by age

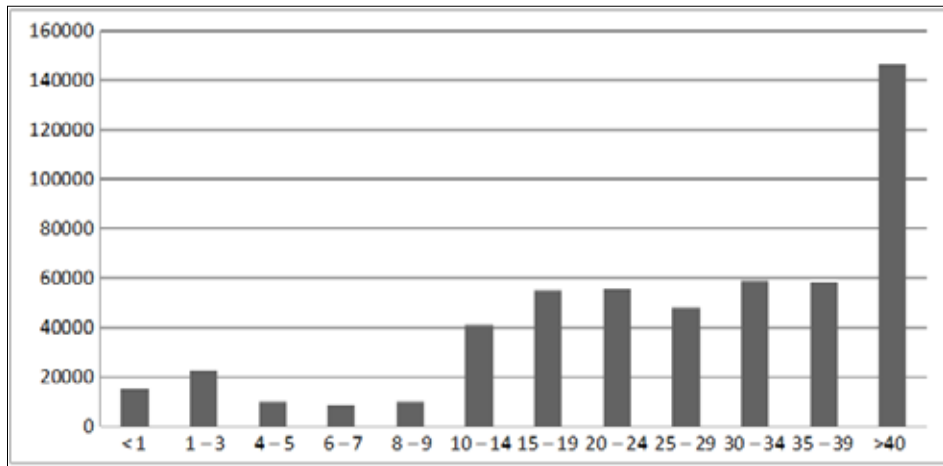


Source: Federal Statistical Office, 2014; analysis: Haug

Since 1955, Italy is one of the most important countries of origin of migrants in Germany. Until 2011, Italy was the second largest population group of foreign citizen - only outnumbered by the Turkish population in Germany. Since 2012, Italians are the third largest foreign citizen group, after the migrations from Poland which have grown rapidly during the

last years (Bundesministerium des Innern, Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2014). In 2012 in Germany lived more than half a million Italian citizens. Most of the Italian migrants are long-term migrants and have stayed in Germany longer than 20 years (see Graph. 5). Of the 529,417 Italian citizens, 146,356 (28 per cent) lived for more than 40 years in Germany. But one can also see the relatively high number of Italians which came to Germany within the last three years.

Graphic 5. Italian migrants (population) in Germany by duration of stay in years



Source: Federal Statistical Office, 2014; analysis: Haug

In addition to the Italian citizens, there are also German citizens with an Italian background in Germany (e.g. children of German-Italian couples). All in all, according to the German microcensus, 760,000 persons of Italian origin live in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2013).

Italians from the south of Italy, who migrated in Germany in the 1950s until the 1970s, were disadvantaged. Nevertheless, as Sparschuh (2014) showed, this was also the case for southern Italian migrants in the north of Italy. In the 1980s, Italians living in Germany had very high economic activity rates. Unemployment already presented a problem for the foreign nationals, but Italians were not particularly affected. Whereas in the early years of ‘guest worker’ immigration, unemployment rates were very low, the economic crisis in general and, more specifically, the crisis of the manufacturing industry in 1970s, changed the situation.

Today, Italians are among the foreign nationals with the highest unemployment rates and, given the relatively high presence in construction and menial jobs, they are rather exposed to high seasonal variations of unemployment (Haug, Heins 2005b). The group of Italian migrants in general

typically shows a low level of structural integration on the one hand and a high level of social integration on the other hand (Haug 2010, 2011a, 2011b).

In the view of the German population, the acceptance of Italian migrants is nowadays very high compared to other groups of migrants. In surveys, most interviewees express the highest sympathy for Italians and Italians are the most popular neighbours (Haug 2011a, p. 150). Only 7 per cent think their family members would not be agree with taking an Italian friend home.

An important characteristic of the Italian population in Germany is the high level of social integration. Partnership and marriage are indicators of social integration: 1/3 of the male Italians are married with a German partner (Haug 2011a, p. 141). Therefore, about 1/3 of the second generations, with Italian origin, have German-Italian parents. Of these younger German-Italians, 77 per cent of the male and 55 per cent of the females have German partners. Asked for the attitudes towards a marriage with a German, 82 per cent of the single Italian migrants in Germany would marry a German partner, which is much higher than other migrant's state (Haug 2011a, p. 141). The statistics of marriage of the last years shows that 60 per cent of the male Italians and 50 per cent of the female Italians get married with German citizens. These are indicators of the closeness of the German and Italian family life.

An indicator of the social integration is also the friendships. Compared to migrants from Turkey, Greece, former Yugoslavia or Poland, Italian migrants show the highest rate of interethnic friendships with Germans: 67 per cent of the Italian migrants daily or several times a week have contact to German friends (Haug 2011a, p. 142; Haug 2010, 2011b).

As last indicator, more than 1/4 of the Italian migrants are member of German associations and participate this way in the civil society (Haug 2011a, p. 143). All these data display the high level of social integration in the German society.

3 Educational Level of Italian Migrants

Are the Italian migrants in Germany high qualified? Analysing several data sets and studies, the following section will give evidence on the Italian population in general and on the second generation.

3.1 Evidence on Education of the Italian Population in Germany

Based on the German microcensus, a sample of one per mill of the population, the qualification level of the 760,000 Italian origin population is measured. This dataset displays a relatively low level of education and qualification of Italians (see table 1). The level of education within the population

of Italian origin is relatively low compared to the population in general: 11 per cent of the female and 8 per cent of the male Italians have higher educational level, University degree is rarely. Female Italian migrants have higher educational level than male. Contrary, in the population in general, education of males is higher. Otherwise, male Italians are more frequently skilled than female (39 per cent of qualified occupation). In the light of 67 per cent qualified employees in Germany, this rate is relatively low.

Table 1. Educational level and occupational qualification of Italian migrants in Germany

	Female Italian	Male Italian	Female population in general	Male population in general
Higher educational level	11%	8%	17%	19%
University degree	5%	3%	7%	8%
Occupational qualification	31%	39%	60%	67%

Source: Federal Statistical Office, 2013; analysis: Haug

3.2 Evidence on Education of the Second Generation

A specific characteristic of the Italian immigration was and still is the persistent low educational attainment compared to the German population and other groups of foreigners, perpetuated through relatively weak results regarding schooling and professional formation. Results of studies on Italian migrants document differences in their education. A persistent relatively low level of educational graduations and educational achievement is well documented (Diefenbach 2005; Below 2007; Haug 2004, 2005; Haug, Heins 2005a; Schmid 2014): «It can be found that the marked underrepresentation with regard to higher educational and professional degrees of young Italians and Turks is clearly related to the low educational level of their parents, as well as factors of integration and attitudes.» (Below 2007). So the low success rate of Italian children in the German school system is a well-known and often discussed feature of Italian immigration in Germany.

A closer look shows differences related to types of migrants yet. For example relatively highly educated Italian migrants in Berlin and relatively lower educated Italian labour migrants in the industrial centres (Haug 2005). In addition, the second generation of Italian migrants has higher education than the first generation (Haug 2005). The effect of parent’s education is interpreted as intergenerational transmission of education. But this effect is moderated by the impact of social capital (Haug 2005). So, for example, children of German-Italian parents come up to higher educational levels, which can be interpreted as effect of family social capital in

the transmission of education. The typical pattern of communication for the second generation of Italian migrant's children is bilingual (Bierbach, Birken-Silverman 2003).

3.3 Evidence on Education of New Migrants

These data on population stocks and on samples of population reflect the immigration of unskilled Italian workers during the last sixty years. They also document the efforts and success of the second generation of Italian migrant's children. But data and studies do not picture the new migration. Unfortunately, the qualification of migrants moving in is not measured. For this reason, it is not possible to test the hypothesis that new migrants are highly qualified.

A study of the OECD 2013, on the recruitment of immigrant workers in the last years, showed that the new migration to Germany is characterised by increasing qualified migrants. Open to academic, difficult for medium skilled or unskilled non-EU workers (OECD 2013).

One of the most important aspects of migration in the last years is the growing number of students at universities. In 2011 and 2012, one the largest group of new immigrants were incoming foreign students (2011: 72.886, 2012: 79.537, Bundesministerium des Innern 2014, p. 40). The high number of migrants among the students at universities in Germany indicate this new tendency. The universities are new actors in the migration policy in Germany and «magnets of migration and motors of integration» (SVR 2013).

4 Case Studies in Bavaria

A large part of Italian migrants concentrate in Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria (Haug 2000, p. 186). The German cities with the largest Italian communities are Munich, Cologne, Frankfurt and Stuttgart. The proportion of Italians is highest in south-western Germany, the Saar agglomeration, the Rhine-Main agglomeration (Frankfurt, Offenbach), the southern rim of the Ruhr agglomeration, Wolfsburg, and the metropolitan areas in Bavaria, for example Nuremberg or Munich (Haug, Heins 2005). While migrants in Germany tend to concentrate in large cities (over 500,000 inhabitants), this is not true for Italian migrants (Janßen, Schroedter, p. 465). Italian migrants (especially the second generation) does not live as in ethnically segregated areas like other migrant groups (Janßen, Schroedter, p. 467).

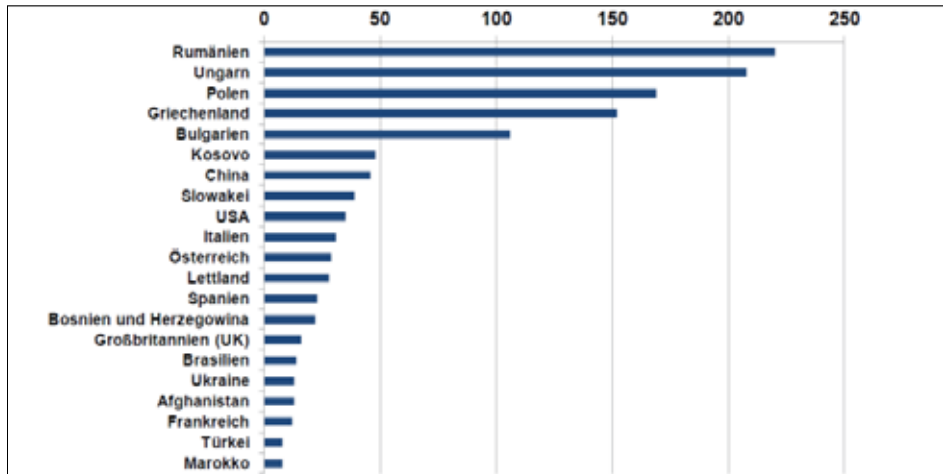
Italian migrant's destination cities represent the industrial centres of the mid-20th century. Some of them are still prospering industrial regions, whereas the Saar agglomeration and the Ruhr agglomeration (coal and

steel) are declining. Case studies in smaller Bavarian boom towns, like Ingolstadt and Regensburg, are examples of meantime attractive destinations for Italian migrants as well as for migrants from Middle and South East Europe. The case study of the two cities can be seen as an example for the new era of migration to Germany.

4.1 Ingolstadt

Ingolstadt has about 130.000 inhabitants, among these 38 per cent are migrants and 52 per cent of the children younger than 18 are migrants (Stadt Ingolstadt 2013). In Ingolstadt live 720 Italians, and 19 Italian students study in Ingolstadt in winter term 2012/13. The economy and the labour market in Ingolstadt are mainly represented by Audi and automotive supplying industry. The unemployment rate in January 2014 was 2.7 per cent (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2014). According to this situation, the city and his most prominent employers have drawn large numbers of migrants from EU countries in the last years (see Graph. 6). Italy is among the ten most important countries of origin.

Graphic 6. Net migration to Ingolstadt 2011



Source: Stadt Ingolstadt 2013, p. 46

4.2 Regensburg

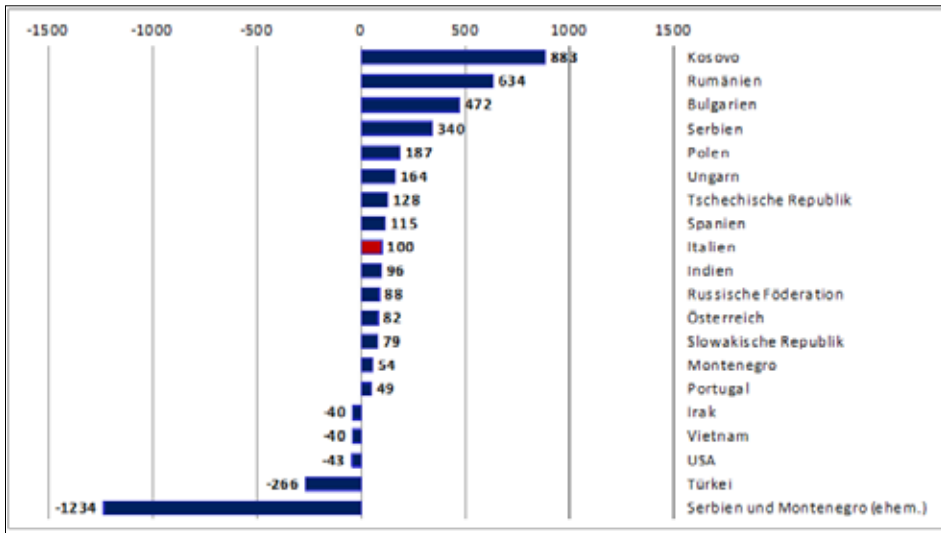
Regensburg, a city on the Danube in central Bavaria, has about 150,000 inhabitants, among these 30 per cent are migrants (Haug, Vernim 2014, p. 5) and 50 per cent of the population of age lower than 18 are migrants.

La nuova emigrazione italiana

The number of foreigners and the net migration has stepped up during the last years. Regensburg is a city of students: 30,000 students are enrolled in the University of Regensburg and the Technical University of Regensburg. The economy and the labour market in Regensburg are represented by corporations like BMW, Siemens or Continental. The health sector is also important with several hospitals. The unemployment rate in January 2014 was 3.7 per cent (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2014).

In the city of Regensburg live 939 Italians: 100 new Italians migrated to Regensburg between 2007 and 2012 (see Graph. 7). As in Ingolstadt, Italy is among the ten most important countries of origin.

Graphic 7. Growth of the foreign population in Regensburg 2007- 2012



Source: Haug, Vernim 2014, p. 25

The city of Regensburg in cooperation with the local Federal Agency of Labour (Bundesagentur für Arbeit) has initiated a programme called «Welcome to Regensburg» for the recruitment of labour migrants from different countries, especially from Southern Europe (Stadt Regensburg 2014). City and local companies (e.g. automobile industry, engineering, ICT, health sector) invest in this welcome programme to find labour migrants. The recruitment programme in Regensburg was very successful for the sectors of engineering and ICT. The labour migrants came, for example, from Spain. A study on Spanish migrants in the IT sector shows the high level of satisfaction with their life in Germany and Regensburg (Junkerjürgen 2013). Nevertheless, the intended duration of stay of most of them is five years, depending on the economic situation in Spain. In 2014, a programme

to find apprentices in the hotel business was successful too. Otherwise, the recruitment of employees for the health sector was not so easily (see below).

5 Aspects of Integration in Regensburg for New Migrants

In case of the migrants recruited by the programme «Welcome to Regensburg», communicating in English language was easily possible in the beginning. Nevertheless, knowledge of German language is important for integration. The learning of German language in integration courses (*Integrationskurs*) is compulsory for most non-EU citizens. For new immigrated EU citizens, the lessons are optional and funded by the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. In Regensburg, there are several educational institutions offering integration courses for new migrants and participants in the welcome programme. In some cases, the integration course is offered in cooperation with the employer.

Employers in Germany attach importance to certificates in a high extent. Also the job grading and the payment depend on the certificates. The acceptance of occupational qualification and university degrees of a foreign country is regulated by law in Germany since 2012. As the recognition procedure of qualification for different occupations is different and quite complicated, the Federal Ministry of Education and Research 2014 has installed an information platform. For higher educated migrants, there is information for recognition of degrees (Kultusministerkonferenz - Zentralstelle für ausländisches Bildungswesen 2014). Even when the process is complicated, in almost every case the recognition is successful. Especially the recognition rate for qualifications in the health sector is nearly 100 per cent (Meier 2013).

In the health sector skilled staff is lacking most, so therefore an intense search for employees from Southern Europe was initiated within the programme «Welcome to Regensburg». Although a large number of applicants answered (as far as 120 for each hospital), the staffing was not so easily. In these fields of work, fluent speaking of German language is required and therefore only few migrants could be employed. Also the duration of the negotiation process for getting a permanent job was quite long, so applicants for jobs lost interest. One problem is in different labour cultures of the health sector, e.g. the different needs for a university degree, which complicate the labour grading.

One of the main problems of migrants is the organisation of the relocation process. There are professional relocation services for migrants (e.g. Welcome2Regensburg). In Regensburg, like in all boom towns, it is most problematic to find an accommodation. Housing is expensive too. So when

asked for in the survey «Integration in Regensburg» within the project «Integration report and integration concept for Regensburg», migrants expressed more dissatisfaction with the quality of the domicile and the rent than the native population (Haug et al. 2014, p. 176). Otherwise, the identification of migrants with the city of Regensburg is exceedingly high, higher than the relatedness with Germany or another country and hence the country of origin (Haug et al. 2014, p. 221). So the local situation is an important aspect of migrants' integration.

The so-called «tied movers» are family members of labour migrants, that means, spouses and children. The motive to migration of this migrant group is more or less social, and the migration decision is depending on their social network and the household. The interest of family members may include finding a job, but in cases of professions without manpower shortage, entry in the labour market is not easy. First of all, German language is needed for most working places. Integration courses for spouses of labour migrants and generally all citizens of EU-member states are state-aided.

Based on a case study, the situation can be described as following: a female Italian psychologist living in Regensburg is attending the integration course of the Volkshochschule (VHS or adult education centre). She reported on her migration biography and experience at the event «Immigration welcomed. Ways to a culture of welcome in Regensburg» (*Zuwanderung erwünscht - Wege zu einer Willkommenskultur in Regensburg*, 28th June 2013, VHS Regensburg). Her husband is engineer and recruited by a large company. She is now confronted with the problem of learning German language and then finding a job as a psychologist. The occupational group of psychologists is not most wanted in Germany: a further training and certificate is needed for most jobs in psychological therapy, moreover psychologists should speak German fluently, so it can be predicted that for her it will be difficult to gain a foothold in Regensburg.

Unlike in earlier times, it may not be an attractive option to stay at home for a qualified wife of a migrant. Following this assumption, the decision to migrate to Germany has to do with the labour market situation for two partners. As known from migration research, family ties in the country of origin are hindering factors for emigration (Haug 2000; Monteleone, Torrisi 2012). Also the family reunification is depending on the decision of partner's chances to find a job. And reciprocally, a return decision is probable when the partner of a labour migrant is not successful in the German labour market. And returning family members trigger return sequences of the remaining migrants (Haug 2000, 2007).

Another point for migrants is the schooling of children. The public school system in Germany is without charge, but on the other hand there are three types of secondary schools. Especially for children of migrants without German language knowledge, it is not easy to get a diploma from German secondary school qualifying for university admission or matriculation. Ear-

lier, the result was that children of Italian migrants, themselves holding a low level of school education, attended the lowest school type, and ended up with low educational level (Haug 2004, 2005). The Italian consulate provides Italian students with lessons in Italian language ('Italian school') and also certificates (Huffman 2013). For most highly qualified migrant families the further education of their children is an important factor; ideally a certificate should be accepted in the country of origin as well as in the country of destination. The challenge for career changer is to get access to higher education.

One important factor of social integration is linked with Italian migrant self organisations (Cappai 2005). There are several Italian organisations and associations in Regensburg. One of them is the «Amici d'Italia»: the aim is to circulate the Italian culture and to present Italy in the region. Another society is the German-Italian «Dante Aligheri e Gesellschaft Regensburg E.V.».



Figure 1. Label of the Italian association Amici d'Italia at Regensburg

Italian restaurants are in the core of the ethnic business in Germany (Pichler 1997; Möhring 2014). In Regensburg there are several Italian restaurants. Except two of the owners, the publicans originate from Mezzogiorno.



Figure 2. Origin of owners of Italian restaurants at Regensburg (map: Huffman 2013)

Figure 3. Label of the network Genuine Italian at Regensburg



Guido Mondì, owner of the restaurant Taormina, has established the network and quality label «Genuine Italian», to be silhouetted against copyists of Italian dishes. Against the background of the most popular Italian restaurants, migrants from Eastern Europe and from Asia more and more offer 'Italian' pizza.

6 Conclusion

To sum up, the current situation of Italian migrants in Germany 2014 is differing from 20th century in some respects:

- Italian migrants are higher qualified than the «guest workers» of 1955;
- the rate of female migrants is higher;
- Italians are now the most liked migrants in Germany;
- Italian associations, restaurants, shops are common in almost every city;
- German cities and enterprises wish for permanent migrants;
- German language acquisition (Integration courses) are sponsored by the German state;
- the recognition of certificates is regulated.

Regarding these facts, the signs of the times provide permanent migration. But otherwise, the family decision making is anyhow depending on some of the known factors.

Is the family income higher than in Italy? How easy is it to find a house? How easy is it for the partner or spouse to find a job? How easy is it for the children to graduate from school in Germany? How easy is it to circulate? Is there an Italian community which can provide help in integration?

These factors affect if the families of the skilled labour migrants will follow or if migrants circulate and return to Italy after some years. Given the intention is to maximize the household income, for high qualified couples finding a job for the partner or spouse is necessary. And other aspects affect the decision to stay, for example the housing or the child care or school. The decision of chain migration, circulation or return is also depending on the development of the labour market in Italy.

So the unresolved question is the development the incipient new migration tends towards. One possibility is a long term stay, although not fully intended. Large parts of the Italian labour migrants of the 20th century had a return intention during their working life, sometimes put into effect after retirement (Haug 2001). This option may be called «illusion» of return (Pagenstecher 1996). The other possibility is «brain circulation» (Hunger 2003), that means a transnational way of life. Maybe this will be the future prospects for higher educated younger population in Europe.

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